SOVIET STUDIES

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL ON THE USSR AND EASTERN EUROPE

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

VOLUME XXX 1978

Board of Management

Professor W. R. Brock
Professor S. G. Checkland
Professor R. S. Downie
Professor John E. T. Eldridge
Professor Peter Henry
Professor Laurence C. Hunter
Professor A. Nove (Convener)
Professor Allen M. Potter
Professor D. M. Walker
Professor T. Wilson

Editorial Board

Hannes Adomeit (Reviews Editor)
R. A. Clarke (Assistant Editor)
Jean Fyfe (Production Editor)
D. J. I. Matko
J. Miller (Editor)
J. A. Newth
A. Nove (Chairman)
J. G. Zielinski

International Editorial Consultants

Professor A. Ådahl (Uppsala)
Professor H. J. Berman (Cambridge, Mass.)
Dr. Hélène Carrère d'Encausse (Paris)
Professor John Erickson (Edinburgh)
Professor Gregory Grossman (Berkeley, California)
Professor J. Marczewski (Paris)
Professor T. H. Rigby (Canberra)
Professor Hugh Seton-Watson (London)
Professor H. Gordon Skilling (Toronto)
Professor Y. Taniuchi (Tokyo)
Dr. Heinrich Vogel (Cologne)
Professor Karl-Eugen Wädekin (Giessen)
Professor J. Waelbroeck (Brussels)

The National Advisory Board

consists of the National Committee of the British National Association for Soviet and East European Studies (BNASEES), excluding such members as may be on other Editorial lists. For the year 1978–79 the National Committee is:

Mr. R. Amann (Birmingham)
Mr. J. D. Barber (Birmingham)
Mr. A. H. Brown (Oxford)
Mrs. K. Dawisha (Southampton)
Dr. R. J. Hill (Dublin)
Mr. M. C. Kaser (Oxford)
Dr. V. V. Kusin (Glasgow)
Dr. D. Lane (Cambridge)
Dr. Mary McAuley (Essex)
Mr. J. Morison (Leeds)
Professor A. Nove (Glasgow)
Dr. A. Pravda (Reading)
Mr. F. Singleton (Bradford)

© University of Glasgow Press 1978

CONTENTS

ARTICLES AND NOTES	*Issue,*	*page*
On System Remodelling in Poland: A Pragmatic Approach—JANUSZ G. ZIELINSKI	1,	3
The Evolution of Party Consciousness in 1917: The Case of the Moscow Workers—DIANE KOENKER	1,	38
The Mainsprings of Peasant Action in 1917—GRAEME J. GILL	1,	63
Soviet Use of Proxies in the Third World: The Case of Yemen—RICHARD E. BISSELL	1,	87
Ethnic Intermarriage and Ethnic Consciousness among Soviet Nationalities—BRIAN D. SILVER	1,	107
From the Achieved Level—IGOR BIRMAN	2,	153
On the Environmental Efficiency of Economic Systems—ROBERT J. MCINTYRE and JAMES R. THORNTON	2,	173
Labour Turnover and Job Satisfaction: Indicators of Industrial Conflict in the USSR?—WOLFGANG TECKENBERG	2,	193
The Origins of Soviet Collective Security Policy, 1930–32—J. A. LARGE	2,	212
From *USE* to *EEC*: The Soviet Analysis of European Integration under Capitalism—CHRISTOPHER A. P. BINNS	2,	237
The Relationship between Changes in Consumption and Politics in Poland —BOGDAN MIECZKOWSKI	2,	262
Zemlya vs. *Volya*—From *Narodnichestvo* to Marxism—E. BELFER	3,	297
The State Enterprise under Socialism—WALDEMAR KUCZYNSKI	3,	313
Intelligentsia versus Bureaucracy? The Revival of a Myth in Poland—MARIA HIRSZOWICZ	3,	336
The Functions of Elections in the USSR—VICTOR ZASLAVSKY and ROBERT J. BRYM	3,	362
Prices in a Planned Economy: Theory and Practice—ZBIGNIEW CZERWINSKI	3,	372
A Note on Primitive Accumulation in Marx and Preobrazhensky—JAMES R. MILLAR	3,	384
Effects of the Soviet Price Reform of 1967 on Energy Consumption—WILLIAM J. KELLY	3,	394
Recent Soviet Novels: Some Impressions—ALEXANDER GERSCHENKRON	4,	443
The Administration of the Soviet Price System—MORRIS BORNSTEIN	4,	466
A Psycholinguistic Approach to Leader Personality—DAVID LUCK	4,	491
Communists, Socialists and Workers: Poland, 1944–48—JAIME REYNOLDS	4,	516
The Hungarian Reform after Ten Years—BELA CSIKOS-NAGY	4,	540
On Remodelling of the Polish Economic System—JADWIGA STANISZKIS	4,	547
Mieczkowski on Changes in Consumption and Politics in Poland: A Comment—PHILIP HANSON	4,	553
A Note on the Meaning of the Soviet Defence Budget—ROBERT E. LEGGETT and SHELDON T. RABIN	4,	557
Profsoyuznaya perepis', 1932–1933 gg.: A Note—BLAIR A. RUBLE	4,	567

BOOKS REVIEWED (Book Notices are not included)

John L. H. Keep, *The Russian Revolution: A Study in Mass Mobilization* —ADAM B. ULAM	1,	117

	Issue,	page
Archie Brown and Jack Gray (eds.), *Political Culture and Political Change in Communist States*—ALEX PRAVDA	1,	119
Mary McAuley, *Politics and the Soviet Union*—RONALD HILL	1,	122
G. P. van den Berg, *De regering van Rusland en de Sovjet-Unie*—JOHN LÖWENHARDT	1,	123
Richard Lowenthal, *Model Or Ally: Communist Powers and the Developing Countries*—RAJAN MENON	1,	125
Martin McCauley, *Khrushchev and the Development of Soviet Agriculture. The Virgin Land Programme 1953–1964*—Z. KOZLOWSKI	1,	126
Robert W. Campbell, *Trends in the Soviet Oil and Gas Industry*—MICHAEL KASER	1,	128
Joseph S. Berliner, *The Innovation Decision in Soviet Industry*—RONALD AMANN	1,	130
James Riordan, *Sport in Soviet Society*—DON ANTHONY	1,	132
Robert Auty and Dimitry Obolensky (eds.), *Companion to Russian Studies. Volume 2. An Introduction to Russian Language and Literature*—PETER HENRY	1,	134
Frederick C. Barghoorn, *Detente and the Democratic Movement in the USSR*; Rudolf L. Tokes (ed.), *Dissent in the USSR. Politics, Ideology, and People*; Alexander Yanov, *Detente after Brezhnev: The Domestic Roots of Soviet Foreign Policy*—MARTIN DEWHIRST	1,	136
Nirmala Joshi, *Foundations of Indo-Soviet Relations: A Study of Non-Official Attitudes and Contacts, 1917–1947*; J. P. Jain, *Soviet Policy Towards Pakistan and Bangladesh*—ROBERT H. DONALDSON	1,	138
Paul E. Lydolph, *Geography of the U.S.S.R.*—A. S. MORRIS	1,	140
Rudolf Schlesinger, *History of the Communist Party of the USSR, Past and Present* (review article)—ROBERT H. MCNEAL	2,	270
William H. Schauer, *The Politics of Space: A Comparison of the Soviet and American Space Programs*—DODD L. HARVEY	2,	274
Maureen Perrie, *The Agrarian Policy of the Russian Socialist-Revolutionary Party: From Its Origins Through the Revolution of 1905–1907*—T. SHANIN	2,	277
Peter Christian Ludz, *Ideologiebegriff und marxistische Theorie: Ansätze zu einer immanenten Kritik*—VOJTECH MASTNY	2,	279
George R. Feiwel, *Growth and Reforms in Centrally Planned Economies: The Lessons of the Bulgarian Experience*—ANTONI CHAWLUK	2,	282
Edy Kaufman, *The Superpowers and Their Spheres of Influence: The United States and the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe and Latin America*—ALVIN Z. RUBINSTEIN	2,	283
Jane Shapiro and Peter J. Potichnyj (eds.), *Change and Adaptation in Soviet and East European Politics*; Jane P. Shapiro and Lenard J. Cohen (eds.), *Communist Systems in Comparative Perspective*—JOHN F. N. BRADLEY	2,	285
Alec Nove, *The Soviet Economic System*—PHILIP HANSON	2,	286
Joseph A. Mikus, *Slovakia and the Slovaks*; Yeshayahu Jelinek, *The Parish Republic: Hlinka's Slovak People's Party 1939–1945*; William C. Wallace, *Czechoslovakia*; Josef Korbel, *Twentieth Century Czechoslovakia*—Z. A. B. ZEMAN	2,	288
Vinod Mehta, *Soviet Economic Policy: Income Differentials in the USSR*—ALASTAIR MCAULEY	2,	290
William T. Lee, *The Estimation of Soviet Defense Expenditures, 1955–1975. An Unconventional Approach* (review article)—PHILIP HANSON	3,	403

Issue, page

Lawrence L. Whetten (ed.), *The Future of Soviet Military Power*; Lawrence L. Whetten (ed.), *The Political Implications of Soviet Military Power*—DAVID HOLLOWAY 3, 410
Arthur Jay Klinghoffer, *The Soviet Union and International Oil Politics*—J. D. PARK 3, 412
Roy D. Laird, Joseph Hajda, Betty A. Laird (eds.), *The Future of Agriculture in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe: The 1976–1980 Five Year Plans*—W. KLATT 3, 415
Ronald J. Hill, *Soviet Political Elites: the Case of Tiraspol*—T. H. FRIEDGUT 3, 416
Karl W. Ryavec, *Implementation of Soviet Economic Reforms: Political, Organizational and Social Processes*—RADOSLAV SELUCKY 3, 418
Alvin Z. Rubinstein, *Red Star on the Nile*—RICHARD E. BISSELL 3, 419
Raymond Hutchings, *Soviet Science, Technology, Design. Interaction and Convergence*—C. C. GALLAGHER 3, 420
Walter Sablinsky, *The Road to Bloody Sunday (Father Gapon and the St. Petersburg Massacre of 1905)*—D. A. LONGLEY 3, 421
Robert J. Brym, *The Jewish Intelligentsia and Russian Marxism. A Sociological Study of Intellectual Radicalism and Ideological Divergence*—DAVID LANE 3, 423
Vera S. Dunham, *In Stalin's Time: Middleclass Values in Soviet Fiction*—E. R. SICHER 3, 424
Gerd Meyer, *Bürokratischer Sozialismus. Eine Analyse des sowjetischen Herrschaftssystems*—J. BRADLEY 3, 427
R. W. Davies (ed.), *The Soviet Union*—JACK MILLER 3, 427

Sidney Bloch and Peter Reddaway, *Russia's Political Hospitals: The Abuse of Psychiatry in the Soviet Union*—MALCOLM LADER 4, 572
Richard B. Remnek (ed.), *Social Scientists and Policy Making in the USSR*—J. L. PORKET 4, 575
Boris Shragin, *Protivostoyanie dukha*—ALEC NOVE 4, 578
Murray Yanowitch, *Social and Economic Inequality in the Soviet Union*—ALASTAIR MCAULEY 4, 580
Ulrich Hewer, *Zentrale Planung und technischer Fortschritt*—LUDEK RYCHETNIK 4, 581
Donald W. Green and Christopher I. Higgins, *SOVMOD I: A Macroeconomic Model of the Soviet Union*—MICHAEL ELLMAN 4, 583
Harry G. Shaffer (ed.), *Soviet Agriculture: An Assessment of Its Contributions to Economic Development*—KENNETH R. GRAY 4, 585
Connie M. Friesen, *The Political Economy of East-West Trade*; Gunnar Adler-Karlsson, *Studien über Wirtschafts- und Systemvergleiche: The Political Economy of East-West-South Cooperation*—HUGO RADICE .. 4, 588
Jozef M. van Brabant, *East European Cooperation. The Role of Money and Finance*—J. WILCZYNSKI 4, 591
Martin McCauley (ed.), *Communist Power in Europe 1944–1949*—Z. A. B. ZEMAN 4, 592
Lilly Marcou, *Le Kominform. Le Communisme de guerre froide*—MARTIN MCCAULEY 4, 594
William S. Heiliger, *Bibliography of the Soviet Social Sciences, 1965–1975*—J. A. LARGE 4, 596

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Twentieth List of Soviet Statistical Abstracts—PAUL FLETCHER 3, 433

Issue, page

CORRESPONDENCE

R. Szawlowski 3, 432

CONFERENCE REPORT

Annual Conference of the British National Association for Soviet and East European Studies 4, 601

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Announcement of International Debate on System Remodelling 1, 144
ABSEES Continues in a New Form—MICHAEL KASER 1, 146
Announcement about survey on Research Tools in Baltic Studies 3, 435

CONTENTS ACCORDING TO SUBJECT MATTER

For full titles of books reviewed see preceding section of this index. Book Notices are not included.

AGRICULTURE

Khrushchev and the Development of Soviet Agriculture . . ., McCauley—Z. KOZLOWSKI 1, 126
The Future of Agriculture . . ., Laird, Hajda, Laird (eds.)—W. KLATT .. 3, 415
Soviet Agriculture . . ., Shaffer (ed.)—KENNETH R. GRAY 4, 585

DEFENCE & SPACE

The Politics of Space . . ., Schauer—DODD L. HARVEY 2, 274
Estimating Soviet Defence Expenditure (review article)—PHILIP HANSON 3, 403
The Future of Soviet Military Power, Whetten (ed.); *The Political Implications of Soviet Military Power*, Whetten (ed.)—DAVID HOLLOWAY .. 3, 410
A Note on the Meaning of the Soviet Defence Budget—ROBERT E. LEGGETT and SHELDON T. RABIN 4, 557

EAST EUROPE

On System Remodelling in Poland: A Pragmatic Approach—JANUSZ G. ZIELINSKI 1, 3
The Relationship between Changes in Consumption and Politics in Poland—BOGDAN MIECZKOWSKI 2, 262
Growth and Reforms in Centrally Planned Economies . . ., Feiwel—ANTONI CHAWLUK 2, 282
Slovakia and the Slovaks, Mikus; *The Parish Republic . . .*, Jelinek; *Czechoslovakia*, Wallace; *Twentieth Century Czechoslovakia*, Korbel—Z. A. B. ZEMAN 2, 288
Communists, Socialists and Workers: Poland, 1944–48—JAIME REYNOLDS 4, 516
The Hungarian Reform after Ten Years—BELA CSIKOS-NAGY 4, 540
On Remodelling of the Polish Economic System—JADWIGA STANISZKIS .. 4, 547
Mieczkowski on Changes in Consumption and Politics in Poland: A Comment—PHILIP HANSON 4, 553
Communist Power in Europe 1944–1949, McCauley (ed.)—Z. A. B. ZEMAN 4, 592

Issue, page

ECONOMICS

On System Remodelling in Poland: A Pragmatic Approach—JANUSZ G. ZIELINSKI .. 1, 3
Trends in the Soviet Oil and Gas Industry, Campbell—MICHAEL KASER .. 1, 128
The Innovation Decision in Soviet Industry, Berliner—RONALD AMANN .. 1, 130
Announcement of International Debate on System Remodelling .. 1, 144
From the Achieved Level—IGOR BIRMAN .. 2, 153
On the Environmental Efficiency of Economic Systems—ROBERT J. MCINTYRE and JAMES R. THORNTON .. 2, 173
The Relationship between Changes in Consumption and Politics in Poland —BOGDAN MIECZKOWSKI .. 2, 262
Growth and Reforms in Centrally Planned Economies . . . , Feiwel—ANTONI CHAWLUK .. 2, 282
The Soviet Economic System, Nove—PHILIP HANSON .. 2, 286
Soviet Economic Policy . . . , Mehta—ALASTAIR MCAULEY .. 2, 290
The State Enterprise under Socialism—WALDEMAR KUCZYNSKI .. 3, 313
Prices in a Planned Economy: Theory and Practice—ZBIGNIEW CZERWINSKI 3, 372
Effects of the Soviet Price Reform of 1967 on Energy Consumption—WILLIAM J. KELLY .. 3, 394
Estimating Soviet Defence Expenditure (review article)—PHILIP HANSON 3, 403
Implementation of Soviet Economic Reforms . . . , Ryavec—RADOSLAV SELUCKY .. 3, 418
The Administration of the Soviet Price System—MORRIS BORNSTEIN .. 4, 466
The Hungarian Reform after Ten Years—BELA CSIKOS-NAGY .. 4, 540
On Remodelling of the Polish Economic System—JADWIGA STANISZKIS .. 4, 547
Mieczkowski on Changes in Consumption and Politics in Poland: A Comment—PHILIP HANSON .. 4, 553
A Note on the Meaning of the Soviet Defence Budget—ROBERT E. LEGGETT and SHELDON T. RABIN .. 4, 557
Social and Economic Inequality in the Soviet Union, Yanowitch—ALASTAIR MCAULEY .. 4, 580
Zentrale Planung und technischer Fortschritt . . . , Hewer—LUDEK RYCHETNIK .. 4, 581
SOVMOD I . . . , Green and Higgins—MICHAEL ELLMAN .. 4, 583
The Political Economy of East-West Trade, Friesen; *Studien über Wirtschafts- und Systemvergleiche* . . . , Adler-Karlsson—HUGO RADICE .. 4, 588
East European Cooperation . . . , van Brabant—J. WILCZYNSKI .. 4, 591

GEOGRAPHY

Geography of the U.S.S.R., Lydolph—A. S. MORRIS .. 1, 140

HISTORY

The Evolution of Party Consciousness in 1917: The Case of the Moscow Workers—DIANE KOENKER .. 1, 38
The Mainsprings of Peasant Action in 1917—GRAEME J. GILL .. 1, 63
The Russian Revolution . . . , Keep—ADAM B. ULAM .. 1, 117
Rudolf Schlesinger's History of the CPSU (review article)—ROBERT H. MCNEAL .. 2, 270
The Agrarian Policy of the Russian Socialist-Revolutionary Party . . . , Perrie—T. SHANIN .. 2, 277
Zemlya vs. *Volya*—From *Narodnichestvo* to Marxism—E. BELFER .. 3, 297
The Road to Bloody Sunday . . . , Sablinsky—D. A. LONGLEY .. 3, 421

	Issue,	page
Communists, Socialists and Workers: Poland, 1944–48—JAIME REYNOLDS	4,	516
Le Kominform. Le Communisme de guerre froide, Marcou—MARTIN MCCAULEY	4,	594

IDEAS

From *USE* to *EEC*: The Soviet Analysis of European Integration under Capitalism—CHRISTOPHER A. P. BINNS	2,	237
Ideologiebegriff und marxistische Theorie . . . , Ludz—VOJTECH MASTNY	2,	279
Zemlya vs. *Volya*—From *Narodnichestvo* to Marxism—E. BELFER	3,	297
A Note on Primitive Accumulation in Marx and Preobrazhensky—JAMES R. MILLAR	3,	384
Soviet Science, Technology, Design . . . , Hutchings—C. C. GALLAGHER	3,	420
The Jewish Intelligentsia and Russian Marxism . . . , Brym—DAVID LANE	3,	423
Protivostoyanie dukha, Shragin—ALEC NOVE	4,	578

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Soviet Use of Proxies in the Third World: The Case of Yemen—RICHARD E. BISSELL	1,	87
Model or Ally: Communist Powers and the Developing Countries, Lowenthal —RAJAN MENON	1,	125
Foundations of Indo-Soviet Relations . . . , Joshi; *Soviet Policy Towards Pakistan and Bangladesh*, Jain—ROBERT H. DONALDSON	1,	138
The Origins of Soviet Collective Security Policy, 1930–32—J. A. LARGE	2,	212
The Superpowers and Their Spheres of Influence . . . , Kaufman—ALVIN Z. RUBINSTEIN	2,	283
The Soviet Union and International Oil Politics, Klinghoffer—J. D. PARK	3,	412
Red Star on the Nile, Rubinstein—RICHARD E. BISSELL	3,	419

LABOUR

Labour Turnover and Job Satisfaction: Indicators of Industrial Conflict in the USSR?—WOLFGANG TECKENBERG	2,	193
Profsoyuznaya perepis', 1932–1933 gg.: A Note—BLAIR A. RUBLE	4,	567

LITERATURE

Companion to Russian Studies, Vol. 2 . . . , Auty and Obolensky (eds.)—PETER HENRY	1,	134
In Stalin's Time: Middleclass Values in Soviet Fiction, Dunham—E. R. SICHER	3,	424
Recent Soviet Novels: Some Impressions—ALEXANDER GERSCHENKRON	4,	443

POLITICS

Political Culture and Political Change in Communist States, Brown and Gray (eds.)—ALEX PRAVDA	1,	119
Politics and the Soviet Union, McAuley—RONALD HILL	1,	122
De regering van Rusland en de Sovjet-Unie, van den Berg—JOHN LÖWENHARDT	1,	123

Issue, page

Detente and the Democratic Movement in the USSR, Barghoorn; *Dissent in the USSR . . .*, Tokes (ed.); *Detente after Brezhnev . . .*, Yanov—MARTIN DEWHIRST 1, 136
The Relationship between Changes in Consumption and Politics in Poland—BOGDAN MIECZKOWSKI 2, 262
Change and Adaptation in Soviet and East European Politics, Shapiro and Potichnyj (eds.); *Communist Systems in Comparative Perspective*, Shapiro and Cohen (eds.)—JOHN F. N. BRADLEY 2, 285
The Functions of Elections in the USSR—VICTOR ZASLAVSKY and ROBERT J. BRYM 3, 362
Soviet Political Elites . . ., Hill—T. H. FRIEDGUT 3, 416
Implementation of Soviet Economic Reforms . . ., Ryavec—RADOSLAV SELUCKY 3, 418
Bürokratischer Sozialismus . . ., Meyer—J. BRADLEY 3, 427
Correspondence (R. Szawlowski) 3, 432
A Psycholinguistic Approach to Leader Personality—DAVID LUCK .. 4, 491
Russia's Political Hospitals . . ., Bloch and Reddaway—MALCOLM LADER 4, 572
Social Scientists and Policy Making in the USSR, Remnek (ed.)—J. L. PORKET 4, 575

SOCIAL

Ethnic Intermarriage and Ethnic Consciousness among Soviet Nationalities—BRIAN D. SILVER 1, 107
Sport in Soviet Society, Riordan—DON ANTHONY 1, 132
Intelligentsia versus Bureaucracy? The Revival of a Myth in Poland—MARIA HIRSZOWICZ 3, 336
Social and Economic Inequality in the Soviet Union, Yanowitch—ALASTAIR MCAULEY 4, 580

MISCELLANEOUS

ABSEES Continues in a New Form—MICHAEL KASER 1, 146
The Soviet Union, Davies (ed.)—JACK MILLER 3, 427
Twentieth List of Soviet Statistical Abstracts—PAUL FLETCHER 3, 433
Announcement about survey on Research Tools in Baltic Studies .. 3, 435
Bibliography of the Soviet Social Sciences . . ., Heiliger—J. A. LARGE .. 4, 596
Annual Conference of the British National Association for Soviet and East European Studies—March 1978 .. .. 4, 601